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Abstract: The Jesuits for Society. The Soundscape of the Jesuits in post-Tridentine Silesia

Among the plenty of cultural activities undertaken by the members of the Society of Jesus, a very important one was the music.[1] Despite the initial objections concerning its role in the postulated formula of the Order's activity, Jesuits recognized and took advantage of its qualities, which led to a fascinating change of paradigms and allowed them to make a significant contribution to contemporary theory and practice.[2] This important cultural shift was especially distinct in the areas influenced with the deep secularization and confessionalization processes, where the *Constitutions* provided a special presence of music culture.[3] To confront with the consequences of

[1] Max Wittwer, *Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Länder deutscher Zunge,* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Greifswald, Grimmer Kreis-Zeitung GmbH: Greifswald 1934; Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music:* I. *A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and their Activities in Northern Europe,* Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu: Rome 1970; Pierre Guillot, *Les Jésuites et la musique: le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon, 1565–1762,* Mardaga: Liège 1991.

[2] Thomas D. Culley, Clement McNaspy, „Music and the early Jesuits (1540–1565)", in: *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 40 (1971), pp. 213–245; Thomas Frank Kennedy, „Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the early years", in: *Studi Musicali* 17 (1988), pp. 71–100; John W. O'Malley, „Sant'Ignazio e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù nella cultura", in: *Ignazio e l'arte dei gesuiti,* ed. Giovanni Sale, Jaca Book: Milano 2003, pp. 17–30.

[3] *Institutum Societatis Iesu. Examen et Constitutiones. Decreta Congregationum Generalium. Formulae Congregationum,* Typographia a SS. Conceptione: Firenze, 1893, vol. II, 539: „Cantus in ecclesiis Societatis inductus, iuxta declarationem capitis tertii partis sextae, sit devotus, suavis et simplex, non figuratus aut firmus; et in iis tantum locis retineatur, ubi per Nostros, non admissis externis, commode exerceri potest, et finis sequitur, quem praedicta Constitutio proposuit, iuxta canonem vigesimum

the reformation crisis, the Jesuits created especially in German-speaking countries effective strategies of social impact taking into account possibly diverse range of music means. The wide panorama of those efforts one can observe in the Jesuit centers founded after the Council of Trent in many cities of Silesia and Kłodzko County.[4]

The musical art promoted there by the Jesuits had a clearly pragmatic aspect and reflected the aims of the Society of Jesus and of those circles which have been identified with the Society's mission. The principle *ad auxilium animarum* from the Jesuit *Constitutions* was not limited to current pastoral activity, but became an impulse for a comprehensive program of reform, propelled by a distinctly humanist motivation. From this standpoint, the Jesuits questioned the earlier models of liturgical-musical culture and its social dimension, and consequently contributed to fundamental stylistic changes in the music itself. The Jesuit reflection on music emphasized both the Platonic and the Aristotelian contexts.[5] At the core of that discourse lay the ancient theory of *mimesis,* which in the field of music depended on the intensification of art's impact by formal, technical and expressive means. The focus of interest was, then, not only the Word itself, but also its impact, the effect it was supposed to produce in the listener.[6]

Jesuit music can be discussed as a correlative of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises,* inviting the integral man as a psychophysical whole to the world

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quartum Congregationis secundae: locum tamen habeat dispensatio, praesertim inter haereticos et infideles, quoad inductionem, retentionem, modum et qualitatem cantus, pro arbitrio Praepositi Generalis."

[4] The present paper is a kind of *pendant* to the monograph written as a result of several years of study on the music culture: Tomasz Jeż, *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej, 1581–1776,* Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa: Warszawa 2013.

[5] Melanie Wald, *Welterkenntnis aus Musik: Athanasius Kirchers „Musurgia universalis" und die Universalwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert,* Bärenreiter: Kassel – Basel – London 2006, p. 11.

[6] Franz Lang, *Theatrum solitudinis asceticae, sive doctrinae morales per considerationes melodicas ad normam S. Exercitiorum S. P. Ignatii compositae . . .,* Matthias Riedl: München 1717, f. 4^{v}: „Ut mitius sentias, ipsam naturam Musices bonus consule. Habet illa nescio quid amabilis violentiae, quae dominari solet audientium animos, eosque modulorum suavitate fascinatos in sui amorem trahere. Isto quasi canali robustae veritates & vitae Christianae principia in mentes hominum leniter influunt & amoenitate cantus instillatae, fortius haerent in affectu & memoria; unde per moram illustratus intellectus, ipsam quoque voluntatem, modulaminis titillatione devinctam, in agnitae veritatis amorem & virtutis aemulationem abripiat; qui unus nostri laboris scopus & finis est."

of transcendence.[7] A trustful openness to the world of the senses resulted in an approval for art, which relies on the same forms of human cognition. In accordance with the Jesuit ideal of *magis,* the works created in their circles made the greatest possible use of the potential of music, most willingly combining it with verbal and visual contents. Music was, then, an element of a multimedia type of communication employed in the service of a holistically conceived religious formation.[8] To become effective, it had to combine religious, aesthetic and formal qualities. Apart from the criterion of adequacy for liturgical use, music ought to embrace the principles of *modestia* and *gravitas,* which facilitate its reception.[9] Preferably it should also fuse universal components with elements of local traditions, encourage people to participate in the liturgy without obscuring it, and fulfill the criterion of *ad aedificationem* while at the same time preserving the continuity of existing artistic models.[10] That the Jesuits were able to reconcile these opposites testifies to the accommodative character of their work, which in the field of music gave rise to polymorphous cultural phenomena.[11]

Jesuits must have inspired a cognitive dissonance in their contemporaries, as they skillfully combined *vita contemplativa* with *vita activa* and found points of convergence between the opposite poles of *cultus internus* and *externus.*[12] Another paradox of their work was their ability to link traditional

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[7] *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Translated from the Autograph by Father Elder Mullan S. J.,* P. J. Kennedy & Sons: New York 1914, *First Week, Fifth Exercise.*

[8] Barbara Bauer, „Multimediales Theater. Ansätze zu einer Poetik der Synästhesie bei den Jesuiten," in: *Renaissance-Poetik,* ed. H. F. Plett, W. der Gruyter: Berlin/ New York 1994, pp. 197–238.

[9] Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (further as ARSI), *Instit.* 181-II, f. 294^{v}.

[10] *Institutum* (see rem. 3), vol. II, 198: „Ubi autem [cantus] inductus esset, si inutilis ad finem nostri Instituti et proximorum aedificationem videretur, vel deessent qui bene id munus praestare possent, committitur Praeposito Generali, ut eum valeat revocare ac prohibere, si ita visum ei fuerit."

[11] John N. Schumacher, „Ignatian spirituality and the liturgy", in: *Woodstock Letters. A Record of Current Events and Historical Notes Connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus* 87 (1958), pp. 14–35.

[12] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu. Fabri Monumenta. Beati Petri Fabri primi sacerdotis e Societate Jesu Epistolae, memoriale et processus ex autographis aut archetypis potissimum deprompta,* Gabriel López del Horno: Madrid 1914, pp. 238–239: „Non dico cum inimicis ecclesiae ut diligentia, quae est in externo cultu Dei, transferatur in cultum internum; sed dico ut, illa manente et crescente, quaeretur nova diligentia, quae sit multo maior, pro rebus maioribus. Multi consulunt ei, qui

forms of pastoral activity with an innovative, accommodative approach, and the instruments of liturgy with new forms of devotion.[13] The choice of individual solutions in this area was purely utilitarian and depended in each case on the needs of the community and on the specific current situation that they had to address. The same criteria decided about the communicative *ornatus* of church services, arranged so as to appear as engaging as possible to the intended audience. The external form of communication should have to encourage addressees to participate in, or at least to observe the musical-religious event held in the given place. It was designed so as to attract not only the local communities, but also the power elites, members of other religious orders, as well as dissidents.[14] Audiences were attracted by educational processions in the streets, by non-cash rewards presented to their participants, and by the music performances themselves, e. g. those of the *Miserere* psalm that preceded the sermon about Christ's Passion[15]. The popular music repertoire also served the Jesuits as a ‚bait for the souls': they used *contrafacta* and bestowed a new function on the local song tradition.[16]

Such an approach hastened the process of cultural assimilation and facilitated the reconstruction of the group's identity, giving its members a sense of contributing to the culture of their town or city and of a relatively

solum devotus est erga sanctos, ut ipse huiusmodi suam pietatem in Christum transferat. Potius autem consulendum erat ut ille idem, servata illa sua devotione erga sanctos, novam quandam quaerat et longe maiorem erga Christum."

[13] Vladimír Maňas, *„Vulgus Bohemorum Musicae adictissimum.* Music in the Recatholisation Strategies of the Czech Jesuits in the 17th Century," in: *Aurora Musas nutrit – Die Jesuiten und die Kultur Mitteleuropas im 16.–18. Jahrhundert.* Acta conventus, Bratislavae 26.–29. Septembris 2007, ed. Ladislav Kačic and Svorad Zavarský, Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, Teologická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity: Bratislava 2008, pp. 209–214.

[14] ARSI, *Boh.* 97-II, f. 582^{r} [Glogau 1659]: „Nemo ex eo infelicium mendicabulorum genere est, quales, quo per provinciam, stipis legendae gratia, ritu eorum decenter insuperato, venalem Musicam circumferunt mancipia, popinas, trivia. Saepe in theatrum cum dignitate et gratia inducti, ab Excellentissimo et Reverendissimo, quin et Heterodoxa Auditore, spectatore plausum meruerunt. Fuit ex hoc spectatorum numero Moecenas, qui distinctis temporibus, post exhibitum ejusmodi drama aliquod, florenos triginta in pios libellos, aliosque necessarios studentium usus, largitus est."

[15] ARSI, *Germ.* 128, f. 74^{r}–80^{v}.

[16] Carlo Galiano, „Bellarmino, i Gesuiti e la Musica in Italia fra Cinque- e Seicento," in: *Roberto Bellarmino, Arcivescovo di Capua, Teologo e Pastore della Riforma Cattolica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Capua 28 settembre – 1 ottobre 1988,* ed. Gustavo Galeota, Archidiocesi di Capua: Capua 1990, p. 377.

privileged social position. The attractive function was ascribed to the aesthetic dimension of the performance itself, which was subordinated to the persuasive power of the teaching and to the religious experience that integrated the community. Even though the Jesuits' program was addressed primarily to individuals, whose integral development was at the centre of the Jesuits' interests; it was also skillfully adopted, however, to the needs of various social groups from which the future leaders of a new social order were to be recruited. This new order was to be based on revived value models and on promoted norms of behavior. To gain full acceptance for this comprehensive reform project, the Jesuits had to actively participate in culture – created not only with the instruments of art, but also in various educational institutions.

The Jesuits concentrated their teaching on the youngest generation, including the previously neglected co- and prefigurative models of cultural change. This innovation led to a thoroughgoing redefinition of cultural change, founded rather on postfigurative models. The music repertoire that conveyed the new religious ideas was first addressed to children: those gathered for the Sunday teaching, as well as members of the Latin sodalities, pupils in colleges and monastic schools.[17] It was only later that the same repertoire reached the adult generation: parents and grandparents, honorary prefects of the congregation, spectators at theatrical performances and street processions, or the patrons of performances given by monastic school pupils.[18] This type of transmission was, however, only apparently prefigurative: its ultimate source were the Jesuits themselves, who decided about the contents to be taught and the programs of concerts or spectacles. This indirect strategy of influence equipped them with new powers of per-

[17] Kraków, Archiwum Towarzystwa Jezusowego Prowincji Polski Południowej (further as KATJ) 3299, f. 2^{r} [Glatz 1670]: „Collectam in Litanijs Sabbatinis post *Salve Regina, Ave Regina* dicet ipse, qui alium loco sui substituet. Et casu quo ipse vesperis interesse non possit, domi discantistas praemonebit, quales versiculi cantandi. Cum processiones per forum sint Sodalitatum, et Studiosis Sodalibus immixti absque hoc eant Seminaristae, ipsi quoque Litanias, aut *Ave maris stella* cantabunt cum D. D. Cantoribus, cum et ipsi Sodales sint, et absque hoc post reditum juvare debeant decantare *Salve Regina*."

[18] ARSI, *Boh.* 96, f. 466^{r} [Oberglogau 1645]: „Huc quoque spectabant industriae quibus accurabant, ut a typis aulicis recussae in lucem proderent odae hymnis que sacri atque alia cum precibus quaestiones, et resolutiones catecheticae. Unde cum processiones (quarum cura nostro comissa est) in publicum deducuntur, late sacrijs hymnodijs tecta compitaque personant, eo frequenter animorum motu, ut lachrymas adultiorum elicuerint."

suasion, though at the same time it admittedly lowered the artistic level of the performances themselves, which was subordinated to the superior aim.

Perfectly aware that the future of Catholicism depended on the education, the Jesuits worked out the *Ratio studiorum* – a universal synthetic curriculum which mapped out the directions for the development of European educational institutions in the next two hundred years.[19] The *Ratio* offered a modern and multilayered system of education open to many different social groups. The curriculum, whose chief aim was the integrated religious and social formation of young people, made use of common cultural forms: the theatre, dance and music. These were used as tools to mold characters and develop the interpersonal skills necessary in social life.[20] They were also part of the customary language of the liturgy, participation in which was an important aspect of religious education. They served, too, as the *ornatus* of ritualized school celebrations and academic promotions, turning them into cyclic rites of passage, and adding a sacred dimension to secular events. Music was also used as a repose from school activities: in Jesuit college syllabuses, singing and instrument playing fulfilled a regenerative role.[21]

Since the functioning of those institutions was based on a commonly replicated model, this use of music quickly acquired the status of a universal concept, disseminated all over the world.[22] The same model was also applied in other educational institutions run by the Jesuits, notably in seminaries and monastic schools. The seminaries, which educated the clergy, were equipped by the Council of Trent with the status of universal institutions, even though they employed Jesuits as their teaching staff.[23]

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[19] Georg Michael Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes,* vols. I–IV, A. Hofmann: Berlin 1887–1894, pp. 402–455.

[20] Thomas Erlach, *Unterhaltung und Belehrung im Jesuitentheater um 1700: Untersuchungen zu Musik, Text und Kontext ausgewählter Stücke,* Die Blaue Eule: Essen 2006, pp. 59–62.

[21] *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu,* ed. László Lukács S. I., Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu: Roma 1974, vol. II, p. 316.

[22] Thomas D. Culley, „The Influence of the German College in Rome on Music in German-speaking Countries During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in: *Analecta Musicologica* 7 (1969), pp. 1–36; 9 (1970), pp. 20–94.

[23] Rafaello Casimiri, „Disciplina musicale e maestri di cappella dopo il Concilio di Trento nei maggiori istituti ecclesiastici di Roma", in: *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 12 (1935), p. 2.

Music was an important element of formation in the seminaries: it formed the natural ‚interface' of the liturgical education.[24] It was this link between music and liturgy that played a decisive role in the attitude of the clergy to musical art, and so it indirectly contributed to the flourishing of music. Apart from the obligatory classes of plainsong, clerical students came into active contact with church polyphony, instrumental and vernacular music. A new element was introduced into musical culture by the Roman *Collegium Germanicum,* which extended its original curriculum so as to include professional forms of musical education, also available to laymen as long as they had suitable predispositions. This institution played a major role in the development of baroque music and its dispersion in Europe.[25]

Jesuit monastic schools worldwide, founded alongside Jesuit colleges and seminaries, were modeled on the *Germanicum.* Those schools were open to musically gifted students from all social strata, which formed another precedent in educational history – one of immense significance to the democratization of social structures in those times.[26] Monastic school pupils were educated *in pietate, litteris et musica, and musical education was a disciplining factor on the way to the humanist ideal of homo perfectus Christianus.* The conditions of work were good, the classrooms – well-lighted, the diet – diversified. Pupils received medical care. In return, they were expected to observe the etiquette and provide the musical setting for services in the church.[27] The dynamic development of monastic schools had a decisive bearing on musical culture: apart from professional church ensembles, churches now had at their disposal bands consisting of young musicians, which competed with the professionals and performed the most recent Italian repertoire virtually free of charge not only in the church, but also at numerous secular events and during theatricals staged by Jesuit college students.

Formally, Jesuit monastic schools were independent of the Order, and therefore could be maintained by a system of the private foundations, usu-

[24] ARSI, *Instit.* 209, f. 145^{r}.

[25] Thomas D. Culley, „Il collegio Germanico a Roma: un centro di musica barocca," in: *Architettura e arte dei gesuiti,* ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, Electa: Milano 1992, p. 92.

[26] Mario Barbera, „L'origine dei seminari a norma dei Concilio di Trento", in: *La Civilità Cattolica* 3 (1940), p. 219.

[27] Joseph Schröteler, *Die Erziehung in den Jesuiteninternaten des 16. Jahrhunderts,* Herder & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung: Freiburg im Breisgau 1940, pp. 318–323.

ally – from interest on pledged land, donated to the schools by local magnates. The statutory duties of monastic school pupils included honoring the patrons with musical performances (e. g. with theatricals dedicated to them) as well as regular singing of the *Requiem* mass for dead members of the patron families.[28] Such performances manifested the religious participation of the power elites in the open services, and the performed music linked those elites with the musically educated youth representing the local population. With time, both these functions became commonly accessible thanks to individual donations made by patrons who granted money to cover the performance costs of Marian antiphons sung for the special intentions.[29] The mechanism of this indirect contribution to cult activities did not have the same explicit promotional and representative function as in the case of magnate foundations, but it preserved its religious and culture-forming role.

A unique phenomenon of culture, involving the participation of monastic school pupils and college students, was the Jesuit school drama. This genre enjoyed a particular popularity in that environment thanks to its didactic, social and promotional virtues. Theatrical spectacles provided an opportunity to present in public – in an artistically attractive form – the results of Jesuit teaching.[30] They helped to find favor with the potential noble patrons invited to sit in the audience. Still, their main purpose was to further the comprehensive formation of the actors' personalities as they presented the required subject with stage movement, gestures, sets, music, song and dance. Jesuit school drama was the most faithful correlative of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises,* and it made use of the same methods of *applicatio sensuum* and *compositio loci,* in the literal form of a *repraesentatio.* The metaphysical contents and the human soul's innermost experiences presented in those dramas naturally served a moral purpose, for which they drew on the ancient dramatic principle of immanent cathartic qualities in drama.[31] The music that accompanied those performances

[28] KATJ, 2761 *(Liber consuetudinum templo Glacensis parochialis Societatis Jesuet eorum quae huc spectant conscriptus Anno 1688 iuxta observationes ante hac approbatas et usurpatas)*, p. 2.

[29] ARSI, *Boh.* 127 [Deutsch Wartenberg 1714], f. 106^{r}.

[30] Henry Schnitzler, „The Jesuit Contribution to the Theatre", in: *Educational Theatre Journal* 4/4 (Dec. 1952), pp. 283–292.

[31] Jakob Masen, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae dramatica ...,* Johannes Busaeus: Köln 1657, lib. I, cap. II §2, 5.

was to enhance the process of visualising, accepting and interiorizing the presented contents.

Drama was one of the instruments of social communication for sodalities, especially those created for Jesuit college students. These congregations were adapted to the local social situation: they consisted not only of students, but also of townsmen, craftsmen, and sometimes even peasants. In each case, they aimed to animate the spiritual life of the given social group. They formed an elite within a socially homogeneous group, which activated the vital cofigurative mechanisms of the given human structure, supporting its self-controlled growth. The horizontal transfer of memes also stimulated other environments outside the congregations as long as they shared the axio-normative models propagated by the sodalities and used them as a foundation for building their identity.[32] Endowing the various social environments with the status of communities, the Jesuits provided each of them with its musical representation. The social order created in this way manifested itself most spectacularly during the street processions, in which all these groups took part together, but they differed in the music that was specially arranged for each of them.

The Jesuit sodalities reflected in miniature the social world order in all its variety and universal character. Their direct aims were to propagate the Marian cult, and to give the example of diligent study and decent life. Ultimately, however, they constituted a new model of a community following ideal principles, convinced of its own salvation and democratically organized, even though it was subordinated to the secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy. The individual language of each community was its shared musical repertoire, which accompanied its meetings and expressed the values that its members identified with.[33] The music also served as a vehicle to convey the moral demands placed on the community and to orientate its members in agreement with a strictly defined ascetic formation model. The contents expressed in songs supported both individual and collective formation. One result of this formation was the work done for the benefit not only of one's own community, but of the whole social group sharing a similar background. By promoting the vernacular repertoire passed down

[32] Praha, Národní Knihovna, Oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků (further as NKORST), XXIII C 105/2, f. 214^{v}.

[33] Alois Kroess, *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet,* vol. III: *Die Zeit von 1657 bis zur Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu im Jahre 1773,* ed. Karl Forster, Velehrad 1945, p. 262.

to the community as its cultural deposit, and by organizing performances of professional music, the sodalities co-created the town's or city's religious life, which found its expression in a complex musical culture.[34]

The Jesuits guarded the souls entrusted to their care by actively engaging in the re-Catholicization campaign, which made use of both negative and positive methods. They were highly efficient in both. In this campaign, they took advantage of the well-tested virtues of the vernacular song, which was a particularly persuasive tool of the post-Tridentine propaganda.[35] Apart from reverting to pre-Reformation repertoire, the Jesuits proved capable of skillfully adopting new elements, derived from Protestant sources. Their weapon in confrontation with other Christian other confessions was ationmation repertoire, the Jesuits proved capable of skilfully adopting new elements, derived from confessions was the takeover of the Protestant repertoire, supported by a reinterpretation that agreed with their program.[36] The Jesuits also brought into everyday use a number of popular secular songs with new religious texts, as well as a modern repertoire characterized by simple melodic patterns, which could be quickly and widely disseminated. The rapid success of this repertoire was also facilitated by the use of songs based on a limited number of melodic models, sung *im Thon.*[37]

For their confrontation with Protestant culture the Jesuits sought allies among the new power elites, which in their own ways applied the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio.* In the post-Tridentine clash of cultures, the political loyalty of ecclesiastical circles was a condition of their existence, whereas the secular authorities sought a religious legitimization for their actions. These two groups entered into symbiotic relationships with each other, even though their aims coincided only from the ideological perspec-

[34] Zdeněk Orlita, „Olomoučtí jezuité a náboženská bratrstva v 16.–18. století", in: *Střední Morava* 20 (2005), p. 54.

[35] Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, *Verkündigung durch Volksgesang Liedpropaganda. Studien zur Liedpropaganda und -katechese der Gegenreformation,* Erich Schmidt: Berlin 1981, pp. 67–80.

[36] *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder, mit sondern fleiss zusammen getragen von newem, so durch das gantze Jahr auff alle H. Festtage, bey den Creutzgängen, vnd zu anderen Zeiten, sehr nützlich zugebrachen . . .,* Johann Schubart: Neisse 1625.

[37] *Ein Newer Christlicher Lobgesang, Bey Feyerlich-angestelter Translation der Heyligen Jungfrawen vnd Marterin Secundae zu Glatz newlich auffgesetzet. Im Thon, vnd versetzten Texts imitation Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehr, &c . . .,* Johann Schubart: Neisse 1641.

tive. It was, however, this very perspective that justified the presence of musicians from Jesuit monastic schools during secular festivities: the name days and birthdays of rulers, their visits and elections, enthronement, coronation and homage ceremonies, celebrations of political and military victories, and funerals. By participating in the processions and church services, the noblemen confirmed the political *status quo,* used the opportunity to manifest their political power, and promoted themselves as patrons who financed the religious event. The Jesuit strategy for culture development had to respect the existing distribution of wealth as it needed that wealth to fulfill its own aims and to finance artistic productions. Admittedly, the Jesuits demonstrated a remarkable talent for the creation and stimulation of all possible forms of artistic patronage.[38]

The functioning of Jesuits in culture can be described in terms of the opposed processes of universalization and accommodation, which equipped their work with a global, but also with a local dimension. The former was reflected in the tendency to unify religious observances, to promote a coherent model of Christian piety, to replicate institutions and communities based on a model structure, to disseminate the unified plainsong and vernacular repertoire.[39] The unification of musical traditions endowed the local cultures with supraregional qualities, while the globalization of the language of culture suited its catholic content. The process of cultural unification was furthered by the multidimensional communication of Jesuit circles with the other religious orders, which effectively hastened the dissemination of the various repertoires.[40] On the other hand, though, what distinguished the Jesuits was the way they suited their activities to "the place, time, and persons", a process that required cogent strategies of accommodation which proved useful not only during missions on other continents, but also – in confrontation with the power elites and with the individual social environments. A skilful combination of these two approaches was essential to the dynamic growth of the Order and decided about the success that the Order achieved through its cultural activities.

The strategies adopted by the Jesuits brought notable effects in the area of the artistic traditions they cultivated. The first of these was a creative

[38] Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne (further as WAA), V 46 [Schweidnitz 1653], f. 64^{r}.

[39] ARSI, *Instit.* 181-II, f. 294^{v}.

[40] ARSI, *Boh.* 121 [Breslau 1709], f. 226^{r}.

redefinition of musical culture itself, which developed new links with the domains of liturgy, spirituality, politics and social life on various levels of their organization. The music has been regarded as the art equipped with effective powers, which had to influence the areas of human activity in premeditated ways. In the case of the Jesuit tradition, this redefinition was particularly clear, consciously explicated and consistently implemented in practice.[41] While allowing music to exert influence, the Jesuits had to accept that its impact would depend on the specific local possibilities and conditions. This is why they analyzed the qualities of that music and its culture-forming potential in such detail, and why they so precisely defined its norms and modes of functioning. We can observe the impact of the music in the transformations that the cultivation of musical culture brought about in the model of the Order itself, as well as in individuals, communities, and the time and space that defined them.[42]

Music resulted in significant changes in the very structure of the Society of Jesus, contributing not only to new forms of its members' presence in culture, but also to a radical redefinition of the ways in which the Order originally functioned. While remaining true to the demands of the Ignatian charisma, the Jesuits began to play an active (though initially indirect) role in the creation of contemporary musical culture, enjoying unprecedented success in these fields. By entrusting the direction of monastic school ensembles to their junior adepts, they introduced a new quality in the management of church music, quite different from the monastic tradition. The musical skills and abilities of novices entering the Society of Jesus were increasingly taken into account, as they predestined them to take up musical duties in the Order or in the missions that required such predispositions.[43]

The Jesuits were increasingly active in the field of music since the Order suited its activities to the needs of the societies addressed by its missions, which used music as the language of communication in their own cultures. The requirements of the Jesuits' religious vocation, as well as the mobility of the Order's members, resulted in the unification of traditions in the

[41] Thomas Frank Kennedy, „*Candide* and the boat," in: *The Jesuits. Cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773,* ed. John W. O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Stephen J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, University of Toronto Press: Toronto 1999, p. 318.

[42] Kristin Dutcher Mann, *The power of song in the missions of Northern New Spain,* Northern Arizona University PhD 2002, pp. 145–242.

[43] Brno, Moravský Zemský Archiv, *Cerroniho sbírka,* II., č. 76.

individual centers and endowed them with universal qualities. The same mobility resulted in a remarkably fast circulation of musical life animators – music prefects, composers, musicians, organists – and consequently also of the repertoire itself – in the local centers. The simultaneous development of musical culture in the different centers was also facilitated by combining musical posts with pastoral and educational duties as well as stage work. The same people who were responsible for the music also conducted the religious teaching, delivered sermons, listened to confessions, took care of the needs of the congregation and taught in the colleges. Music was directly subordinated to those other forms of activity, which were the Order's priorities.

The musical culture developed by the Jesuits also resulted in some transformations in the personalities of the people submitted to the influence of the Jesuit missions. The music performed in this context was to support the internalization of contents prescribed for meditation, to evoke a particular musical affect, and to enhance its persuasive force. Especially in the case of theatrical forms, Jesuits took care that the presented subject should bring about a religious and moral transformation in the audience and lead to a mature declaration of will. The perception of drama was designed so as to develop in the audience the ability of describing and controlling their own emotions.[44] Of equal importance was the rhetorical form of presentation itself, which encouraged the addressees to identify with the presented contents, while at the same time training them in the art of persuading others. By teaching to listen, the Jesuit drama also taught to convey one's message, and this could not be done effectively without music.

The modes of artistic communication were suited to its ultimate purpose. Thus, the parallelism of dramatic planes and the duality of the presented values were expressed by purely musical means; recited sections were complemented with sung passages, such as choruses, intermedia and arias, whose purpose as *affectus musicus* was to help the audience internalize its contents.[45] The emblematic *scenae mutae* were accompanied by instrumental music and dance, which enhanced the audience's concentration on the wordless message of the scenes and had a subliminal impact

[44] *Contemplatio mortis Jesu Christi ex similitudine mortis Filii Familii . . .,* Baumann: Breslau 1669, divided into: *figura, applicatio* and *colloquium.*

[45] *Meditationes* written in WAA V 52 [Glatz 1684].

on the cognitive process.[46] The multifaceted form of the presentation of religious contents posed a challenge for the performers: the drama made use of theatrical gestures, of music and dance, which were to convey the emotional states and abstract ideas. The individuals involved in the performance had to develop the ability to control and master all those means of communication, which contributed to the integral development of personality. The wide intellectual scope of Jesuit dramas is reflected in their authors' theoretical writings, which combined a study of musical qualities with work in the fields of acoustics, arithmetic, physiology, psychology, rhetoric, and the impact of art on the audience. In those writings, music is viewed both as a ‚meta-science' and an effective *flexamen omnium.*[47]

Jesuit activity was addressed to many different types of communities, and the properly employed musical art was to influence each of them. Also on this level, Jesuit music brought about significant social change. The diverse character of Jesuit missions was reflected in the diversity of musical repertoires and forms, suited to concrete needs. One of the fruits of Jesuit teaching were the sodalities, whose identity was built upon the collective performance of the vernacular repertoire and the provision of musical setting for selected church services.[48] Jesuits were capable, however, of forming a community out of any anonymous social group by means of music. This process began with finding leaders in the group, entrusting them with musical functions and confirming their prerogatives in the structure of the newly formed community by referring to the sacred order. Those functions could be fulfilled, for instance, by monastic school students isolated from the town's society. Those students, dressed in special albs, performed a selected musical repertoire,[49] thus representing the whole community and at the same time confirming the special privileges of the patron who supported them financially.

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[46] Franz Lang, *Theatrum affectuum humanorum, sive considerationes morales ad scenam accomodatae ...,* Matthias Riedl: München 1717, k. 5^{v}: ‚Pascendis oculis et informando intellectui excogitata illa fruere, ut dum auris occupabatur canentium modulis aut sermonibus actorum, simul per oculum ingressa veritas haereret firmius in animis, propositarum imaginum figuris et lemmatum stricturis illustratae."

[47] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni ...,* François Corbellett: Rome 1650, A 366.

[48] *Domus Sancta Fidelis Parthenii Almae Sodalitatis Beatae Virginis Annuntiatae in Collegio Societatis Jesu Wratislaviae ...,* Veit Heinrich Ettel: Olomouc 1660.

[49] ARSI, *Boh.* 114, [Schweidnitz 1702], f. 328^{r}.

A much more complex vision of the social order was presented during festivals in the open urban space, which simultaneously involved all the social groups living in that city or town. The musical compositions performed on their initiative reflected their diversity, but also pointed to the common purpose behind all the performances. The cofigurative impact of such events was provided by various instruments of catholic propaganda: triumphal gates, paintings and banners, *tableaux vivants,* declamatory feats and choreographic designs, songs distributed among the crowd, colorful garments, community leaders and speeches delivered by representatives of the authorities.[50] These celebrations involved also a convincing experience of participation in a globally conceived community of believers, much wider than its local representation. The universal character of those festivities was reflected in the enormous variety of the performed music: plainsong, extraliturgical pieces, vernacular songs, antiphons, litanies, and motets.

The preserved repertoire of Jesuit provenience is extremely small and out of proportion with the Order's role in animating its contemporary musical culture.[51] However, it does exemplify some of its universal qualities which incorporated local traditions into the global network of the Society and reached beyond this sphere owing to the lively contacts of the Jesuit circles with other musical centers. The music found in Jesuit scores is influenced by the plainsong tradition only to a limited extent, as it has been replaced by new repertoire, determined by the criterion of liturgical needs. Apart from multifunctional compositions, there is a number of works referring to models of Jesuit spirituality and drawing on medieval authors.[52] Their contents are reflected in their musical form, which enhances their persuasive power, whereas the line-ups of musicians reflect the accepted model of religious objective and subjective narratives, regarded as complementary parts of one coherent whole. This repertoire combines traditional elements with new forms of musical expressions, while usually still adhering to the conventionalized, rhetorical means of illustrating the text.

This synthesis of old and new traditions found its distinct reflection in the vernacular song repertoire, whose melodies also influenced the melodic patterns of new baroque music. This was in fact a process commonly observed

[50]NKORST, XXIII C 105/8 [Neisse 1671], f. 93^{v}.

[51]Some compositions of these provenance are stored today in Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Kroměříž, Krzeszów, Olomouc, Poznań, Prague, Warsaw and Wrocław.

[52]E. g. *In nomine Jesu* by Georg Braun; *Jesu dulcis memoria* by Joseph Wiesner.

in the sacred music of that period, and its use by other religious orders was explained a similar redefinition of church music traditions. From this perspective, it would be difficult to point out any distinctive features of the Jesuit repertoire that could distinguish it from the music of other orders. The cultural links between different communities were tightening, and the various circles were embracing by a common, stylistically unified musical language. The process of multidirectional transmission of repertoire was significantly furthered by the Jesuits, who were most active actors in the cultural discourse. Naturally, they also engaged in that process *pro domo sua,* propagating the supernatural character of the Society's mission, emphasizing their own achievements in that field and encouraging the invited audiences to embrace the spiritual potential of Loyola's successors.[53] The particular interest that the Jesuits might have in such self-promotion was subordinated, of course, to the affirmation of Roman Catholicism in its entirety, and they communicated their relation to that whole in every possible way.

The transformations of culture brought about by music may also be discussed in their chronological aspect, related to the forms of time regulation. Recurrence and periodicity supported the established social order, as they regulated the community's life in the rhythm of cyclic prayers, Fourty Hours' devotion,[54] St Ignatius Novenas,[55] St Aloysius Sundays,[56] the liturgical and school years and jubilees. A natural pretext for this order was the regularity of the liturgical cycle, extended by the Jesuits so as to include new elements making use of the musical tradition. Elements of this regularity may be found in the popular forms of Jesuit repertoire: the litany, the rondo, the verse-chorus form, sequential and stanzaic forms. The community's sacred time was measured out with recurrent performances of *Salve Regina,* with *meditationes* for each consecutive Sunday of Lent,[57] with quarterly *Requiem* masses and annual spectacles *pro renovatione studiorum,* or with the sodalities' patron days held within the same cycle;

[53] NKORST, XXIII D 168 [Glatz, 1640], f. 126^{r}–128^{v}.

[54] Johann Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Jesu provinciae Bohemiae . . .,* vol. 4/2 (Prague 1759), p. 611 [Neisse 1650].

[55] ARSI, *Boh.* 143 [Glatz 1727], f. 87^{r}.

[56] ARSI, *Boh.* 124 [Hirschberg 1711], f. 158^{r}.

[57] ARSI, *Boh.* 96 [Breslau 1647], f. 341^{r}.

with songs for each of the 365 days of the year,[58] sung to 24 melodies, and with the successive episodes of the theatrical spectacle and its sequels.[59]

Equally striking transformations can be pointed out in the arrangement of space. These were related primarily to the reconciliation of churches, to the foundation of new schools and to the gradual redefinition of the earlier order of culture. The growing presence of the Jesuit Order in culture was reflected in the newly erected churches and colleges which gradually transformed the architectural design of cities and towns.[60] The music composed for their consecration highlighted those changes by annexing public space in a similar manner as in the case of processions held on various occasions. Those events were an expression of the community's faith, and the selected musical repertoire allowed the community members to manifest their shared values in urban space. Of similar symbolic significance were the street processions with relics, which attracted crowds to the church, where the church hierarchy confirmed the sacred nature of those gatherings. The road-weary pilgrims on their way to the holy shrines also sought that sacred space, and they sublimated their physical exhaustion into metaphysical experience by means of multi-verse songs.[61] The new sacred space was discovered by peasants as they traversed the fields, singing their springtime prayers for good harvest on the *dies rogationum,* or by the participants of Saturday processions to the votive figure of the Holy Virgin Mary in the city square or the figure of St. John of Nepomuk by the city bridge or at the crossroads.[62]

Another form of space transformation was the new iconography of Jesuit churches, which corresponded to the musical repertoire performed in its interiors. The music sung in those churches referred often to the same topics as the paintings, used similar rhetorical concepts or analogous cyclic forms. Thus the graphic representations supported with visual stimuli the contemplation of the successive mysteries in the Litany of the Holy Name of

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[58] Bartholomeaus Christelius, *Annus seraphicus, Seraphisches Lieb=Jahr, oder Anmütige zu Göttlicher Liebe anleitende Lieder, auf alle Tage deß gantzen Jahrs . . .,* Johann Joseph Kilian: Olomouc 1678.

[59] *Sapientia coronata, seu Salomon regum sapientissimus, obtento a Davide Regno domum sapientiae aedificaturus . . .,* Breslau 1728, and *Sapientia omnigena prosperitate coronata, seu Salomon regum Sapientissimus . . .,* Breslau 1732.

[60] NKORST, XXIII D 147 [Neisse 1688], f. 188^{r-v}.

[61] ARSI, *Boh.* 99 [Deutsch Wartenberg 1670], f. 790^{r}.

[62] ARSI, *Boh.* 149 [Hirschberg 1732], f. 256^{r}.

Jesus,[63] Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the antiphon *Salve Regina*.[64] Walking round the church, visitors could contemplate the same texts in the performed musical works, which, together with the graphic cycle, encouraged them to embark on their own journey of faith. The ancient category of *mimesis* that shaped the Jesuit musical poetics manifested itself in a Christianized form modeled on Thomas à Kempis' medieval idea of *imitatio Christi*. Those iconographic representations can be seen as the implicit program of Jesuit art, introducing the addressees to an important aspect of the religious experience.

The musical culture of Jesuit circles presents on the semantic level a logical and coherent ideational message. This coherence manifests itself in the well-thought-out unity of the cultural models which the Jesuits applied in theoretical discourse, pastoral work, educational methodology and liturgical-musical practice. Music played a crucial role since, by symbolically representing the values inherent in those different areas of activity, it supported the process of their collective and individual internalization. Various phenomena of music culture served as a tool for social impact, control and growth. Its natural attractive and communicative power proved an excellent medium for the creative reshaping of all existing social structures. Were all those processes any part of a conscious civilization project, accomplished by the Society of Jesus or, should they be regarded as a casual effects of very deep and broad-based evangelization?

[63] Johann Michael Rottmayer von Rosenbrunn: a cycle of litanies to the Holy Name of Jesus, Wrocław, Church of the Holy Name of Jesus.

[64] Christoph Tausch: A series of paintings illustrating the antiphon *Salve Regina* and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Kłodzko, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.